fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — ANALYST]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

[574] [388] [262] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. [204] (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and contributions to schools for purchasing special items. [872] (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or tile. [651] (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 511 184 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti[illegible] to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

5

The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independance and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often
her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut
302 straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys
wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they
have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut
this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also
is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is
not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab,
resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim
there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written
in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance
and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior
high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and
grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which
destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they
straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof.
The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily
performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or
senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may
board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this
instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have
a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the
rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a
[177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese
cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races,
and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments
with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout
life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same
age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friend-
ships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in
early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard
of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three
or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of
absence from this work--but not from classes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition, there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding, possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

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Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialised. Instruction in literature (bungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasised Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction [191] in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the preschool child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialise in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EH 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first, soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] mar or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] ma·· have to make a report.

[575] The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[731] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
[626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
● 872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors.

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient.

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father.

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it.

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as

871 177 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults attended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today [191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3% ● 872 of Taira's population.

346 [871] The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village, where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be- [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 [533] Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

871 177 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rallying point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed. [186]

875 [554] Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family. [874]

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades. ●872

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($1.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,897 yen

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

872 526 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game [524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 262 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys 872 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout 876 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised 858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to [i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 872 876

express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

2tMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other.

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically.

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade.

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that class-
mates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512 872

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a [876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and [365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment.

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets.

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles.

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!"

872 [876] The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 264 [863] At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 855 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river. 855

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes." 857 291

"Ail Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances. 857 855

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls. 857 [291]

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

> The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

872 876 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read off. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 [875] Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relationship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 876 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruction, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations.

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning.

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ-

872 876 [485] ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

876 872 857 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

876 868 [358] [241] At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
858 makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
231 volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
177 The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls
865 in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents, expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking